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SITUATION IN OCCUPIED GREECE, 1943-1944

Description

An examination of the record of the Greek quisling regimes in the fields of national economy, public health, administration, internal security, and propaganda, together with an appraisal of the future prospects of the puppet government.

21 September 1944

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary	iii
I. Introduction: The Greek Quisling Regimes	1
II. Economic Policies and Conditions	5
A. Food	5
B. Occupation Charges, Inflation, and Prices	6
III. Public Health and Relief	9
IV. Administration and Justice	12
V. Security	13
A. Regulations and Restrictions	13
B. SS and Tsoliades	13
C. Security Battalions	14
VI. Quisling Propaganda Lines	16
Appendix A. Quisling Cabinets	19

SUMMARY

The successive quisling regimes which have held office in Greece since 1941 have officially given full support to the Germans, and their members are regarded as traitors by the Greek people. The failure of German efforts to utilize the puppet governments more in the exploitation of Greek resources is due largely to the resistance of the people rather than to any consistent opposition by puppet officials.

Quisling efforts in the field of national economy have been uniformly unsuccessful because German exactions have made it impossible to meet the elementary needs of the people. Since the famine of 1941-42 food supplies have been far below normal as a result of the decline in production (especially animal production), the absence of an adequate distribution mechanism, transportation difficulties, loss of food-producing areas, and destruction of crops due to guerrilla activities and reprisals. This shortage of goods together with the heavy German occupation charges have resulted in runaway currency and price inflation, while wages have failed to increase in proportion. The poorer urban dwellers are in an impossible position unless their wages include food allotments, while the government has been forced to resort to barter in public dealings.

Public health has deteriorated dangerously. Prolonged undernourishment has predisposed the population to tuberculosis and malaria, both of which are extremely widespread. Food, medical supplies, and housing are inadequate. Quisling officials and private organizations have endeavored to combat these conditions, but their effectiveness has been reduced by internal friction and by German restrictions.

Administration is carried on by the Greek civil service and local officials, but real power remains with the German

supervisory authorities. The civil courts have fallen into complete disrepute as a result of quisling and German interference, excessive new legislation, underpayment of personnel, and appointment of incompetent judges. Greek and German military courts, the latter with very elastic jurisdiction, are also in operation.

Numerous regulations and restrictions have been introduced for security purposes. A number of special security bodies have been established, notably the German SS (with its Greek agents the Tsoliades) and the native Security Battalions. The latter are completely German-controlled, but the Greek Government in exile and the British Government have hesitated to denounce them. Prime Minister Papandreou's hesitations, which have encouraged the collaborationists in Greece, presumably spring from a desire to maintain a counterweight to the EAM resistance organization inside Greece. The Greek population, on the other hand, is believed to be generally hostile to the Battalions.

Quisling propaganda, aimed at dividing and confusing the population, has emphasized the advantage of collaboration with Germany's "new order." More successful has been its exploitation of widespread fear and hatred of the royal government, the Slavs, and communism. The quislings have also sought to identify themselves with Greek religious and irredentist sentiments.

The quisling regime will not necessarily disappear on the departure of the Germans. Prime Minister Rallis, with control of the administration and an organized force at his disposal, is in a strong position to bargain for a position in post-war Greece. His chances may be improved if the Papandreou Government is given encouragement in its search for an internal counterweight to the EAM.

Nuts! Famous wrong guesses —

SITUATION IN OCCUPIED GREECE, 1943-1944

I. INTRODUCTION: THE GREEK QUISLING REGIMES

Greek participants in the administration of Greece under the occupying authorities may be assumed to fall into one of three categories: (1) Axis sympathizers who desire a German victory and collaborate out of conviction; (2) persons who have profited by the occupation and whose private gains can be retained only by a continuance of German domination; and (3) patriots who feel they can contribute, however slightly, to the protection of Greek interests from positions within the administration.

Officially, at least, the Greek puppet governments have given full support to the Germans. They have pleaded for an end to sabotage and have excoriated the guerrillas as communist gangsters. Recently, over the Athens radio, the Greek quisling regime urged the desirability of making peace with the Germans, "thus enabling them to withdraw their armies from our territories and dispatch them to the Russian front....In this way we shall attain the results: first, peace in our country, and secondly, the defeat of the Russian Bolshevik Jews....In conclusion, if all nations suffering today join Germany, the latter asks for nothing better than to satisfy them by offering them peace." The Greek people, on the other hand, in general regard the puppet government and all its members as traitors. The EAM resistance organization goes so far as to brand the quislings as worse enemies than the Germans.

The Germans have used the puppet governments to facilitate exploitation or seizure of Greek resources in men and material, and to assist in maintaining order and curbing popular resistance. Failures in attaining these ends have been due not to any consistent opposition on the part of

puppet officials, but rather to the enterprise of the people themselves operating individually or in groups.

The original quisling cabinet was headed by General Tsolakoglou, who was responsible for signing the armistice in April 1941. It consisted largely of military men who had supported the armistice.[1] Popular opposition shortly forced Tsolakoglou to reorganize his cabinet. Gotzamanis, who had had pro-Axis history, rose to importance in this reorganization and assumed six portfolios. Some sources interpret Gotzamanis's rise as a German concession to Italian pressure, but Gotzamanis was in fact a skillful and energetic administrator and initiated measures for the control of agriculture and commerce. He is said to have curbed black market speculation in foreign exchange, although he himself is reported to have amassed large profits by such transactions. In September 1942 Gotzamanis undertook a mission to Berlin and Rome to seek a reduction in Axis demands on Greece for money, supplies, and manpower. Tsolakoglou is reported to have been dissatisfied with Gotzamanis negotiations; in any case he was unwilling to be overshadowed by Gotzaminis, and submitted his resignation. On the persuasion of Altenburg and Guizi, the German and Italian representatives, Tsolakoglou offered to continue if certain concessions were granted. When he learned that his demands would not be met he turned the government over to the Vice-Premier Logothetopoulos on 17 November 1942, and resigned formally on 2 December.

Logothetopoulos was professor of obstetrics at the University of Athens. He was married to a niece of Marshal von List, and was notoriously pro-German. His cabinet was said to show the influence of the former dictator and veteran

1. See Appendix A for composition of the quisling cabinets.

soldier-politician, General Pangalos, who is reported to have dictated the appointment of Anastasios Tavoularis, Hector Tsironikos, and Nicholas Kalyvas. Gotzamanis continued as minister of finance but lost his other five portfolios. It is very probable that Pangalos himself was offered the premiership, and it is obvious that he wields great influence in quisling circles. Though the Germans are reported to suspect his ambitions, they apparently allow him to move about freely and can only have approved of his broadcast propaganda against King George II and the EAM. At the same time Pangalos poses as a champion of the Greek cause, and has assisted a number of conservative officers to escape to the Middle East. Some sources have insisted that through Tavoularis, Pangalos has been maintaining contact with Zervas and the EDES, the anti-EAM resistance organization. It is recalled that a number of EDES officers and men are said to have joined the Quisling security battalions, in the organization and operation of which Pangalos is said to have played an important role. It would appear, therefore, that Pangalos has been building up support in both quisling and patriot circles, with a view toward securing power for himself after the Germans withdraw. This would explain his opposition to the EAM, which also aspires to political control. Pangalos' previous bids for power were rather inglorious, that of 1925-6 resulting in conviction and imprisonment for malfeasance. It seems doubtful at present that he will be able to attract much popular support once the country is liberated.

The Germans had hoped that the replacement of the generals by such academic figures as Logothetopoulos would win popular support, especially for their program of recruiting workers. Logothetopoulos argued the "advantages to post-war Europe accruing from the two million foreign workers in Germany

who were learning from the Germans how to build up a new world." But opposition was vigorous, culminating in the general strike of 6-9 March 1943 in consequence of which Logothetopoulos was forced to resign.

On 7 April 1943 Logothetopoulos was succeeded by John Rallis at the head of a government even more amenable to German wishes. With slight changes, this government has remained in power to the present day.

II. ECONOMIC POLICIES AND CONDITIONS

The chief problems faced by all of these quisling governments have been those of national economy, civil administration, and security. In the general economic field the quisling officials have been uniformly unsuccessful because the exactions of the Germans have made it impossible to meet the elementary needs of the people.

A. Food

Since the famine of 1941-42 the food situation has fluctuated but the supply has always been far below normal, particularly in the large cities, in Epirus, and in the small islands. The following factors, roughly in order of importance, have contributed to this shortage. Production per land unit has declined seriously due to the unsettled conditions and the lack of fertilizers. The failure of the authorities to work out an adequate food distribution plan and to set up state administrative agencies has resulted in food surpluses in some regions and famine in others. Transportation difficulties have interrupted the usual interchange of goods, particularly the shipment of island olive oil to the mainland. The rich agricultural regions of Greek Macedonia and Thrace have been cut off by Bulgarian occupation. The activities of the guerrilla bands and the resulting German reprisals have led to widespread destruction of crops. Also quantities of olive oil have been shipped to Germany, although in return the Germans have furnished small quantities of grain, potatoes, and sugar. Finally it must be remembered that Greece was normally a net importer of foodstuffs and that the normal import sources have been cut off during the war. This loss has been partially met by appreciable Red Cross shipments of grain, pulses, milk and sugar. In the year 1943-44 this

source provided the Greek population with an average of about 350 calories per person per day. Although estimates differ as to the present average consumption per capita, and its relation to pre-war consumption, it is generally agreed that the food situation in Greece is worse than in any other European country.

B. Occupation Charges, Inflation, and Prices

With a severe shortage of foodstuffs and indeed, of all other types of goods, the price level tended to rise far above pre-war figures. Disorganization of the economy was accelerated by the heavy occupation charges. These have been increased from 4 billion drachmas per month in August 1941 to 1,322 billion drachmas per month in March 1944.

German expenditures, thus financed, have, of course, further aggravated the shortage of goods and services. Moreover, the Greeks had to meet most of these heavy obligations by printing paper money. The currency in circulation has risen from 20 billion drachmas at the time of occupation to 1⅓ trillions on 15 October 1943 and 20 trillions on 5 May 1944. Moreover, the Germans have put into circulation quantities of counterfeit gold coins (but of correct weight and fineness) said to be minted in Brussels. The Allied liaison missions in Greece have met their expenses in gold sovereigns, which has added to the supply in circulation. The purchasing power of the gold pound has appreciated from 700 thousand drachmas in October 1943 to 2½ billion drachmas in August 1944. The value of the paper currency had so fallen that the price of newspapers in June 1944 was 250,000 drachmas.

As is usual under inflation conditions, wages have not kept pace with the rising prices. Between October 1943

and July 1944 wages increased 100-300 times as compared with advances of roughly 1700 times in free market food prices. This discrepancy has been offset somewhat by paying a portion of the wages in food allotments. In addition, the Rallis government sought to check the food price spiral by setting price ceilings. The result was a tremendous increase in black market activities. Accordingly, on 5 November 1943 the Minister of Supply announced the abolition of price ceilings, and then boasted with great fanfare that the government had abolished the black market. So far as the Greek city-dweller is concerned, however, the all-important fact is that prices continue to rise to fantastic levels.

The following figures on a few of the most important commodities indicate the rate of increase:

	17 November 1943	24 June 1944	7 July 1944
bread (oke)[1]	40,000 drs.	1,600,000 drs.	2,000,000 drs.
meat (oke)	180,000 drs.	11,000,000 drs.	12,800,000 drs.
oil (oke)	110,000 drs.	16,000,000 drs.	26,000,000 drs.
sugar (oke)	80,000 drs.	5,000,000 drs.	10,000,000 drs.

The government recognized the situation created by the depreciation of the currency by resorting to barter in its public dealings. To encourage increased production of silk, cotton, and currants it promised farmers to purchase their crops in exchange for stipulated quantities of wheat or oil rather than for a fixed money payment. At present paper currency is practically worthless; the city poor who have no gold are in an impossible position unless their wages include food allotments or unless they are able to obtain Red Cross supplies; the rich who possess gold find living

1. Equals approximately 2 3/4 pounds.

possible though difficult; the peasants in many areas reject paper money and resort to barter; while the collaborationists are profiteering by manipulating the market in gold coins and protecting their gains by hoarding.

III. PUBLIC HEALTH AND RELIEF

These economic conditions naturally are reflected in the low state of the public health. The following report of a doctor who left Athens in February 1944 is indicative of the situation:

> The physical strength of the Greek people was exhausted by the famine of 1941 and by the two following years of undernourishment with the result that all are predisposed to tuberculosis and malaria. These two diseases threaten the destruction of the race. Although the pre-war governments and the medical world tried to counter these dangers, the servile governments under the occupation show no concern. No campaign is being carried on against malaria and there is not a grain of quinine in the regions which suffer from malaria. Malaria has spread throughout the mountainous regions of the provinces. It has also become prevalent in Piraeus and Athens. This is due to the fact that many people who go to the provinces for food get malaria there and bring it back to the cities. Moreover, no measures have been taken to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes in the Ilissos river bed. Athens is now crowded with a population amounting to two million people who suffer from malaria and tuberculosis. Malaria and undernourishment are the predisposing factors which are responsible for the wide increase of tuberculosis. It is possible that more than 600,000 Greeks are tubercular and the prevalence of tuberculosis among infants is most tragic. Special care should be given the children and I appeal to all the civilized world to help the perishing youth of Greece.

Equally revealing is the report that in one district where doctors organized a dispensary and gave free service, they found that out of 450 children examined, only 7 were healthy, while 2 or 3 were in a preconsumptive stage, 50 had consumption, and the rest were anemic and undernourished.

These figures reveal that the health of the nation is in a disastrous state. The obvious reason is lack of food and drugs. The latter deficiency seems to be due to the German requisitioning of a great variety of medicines, the buying up and hoarding of supplies for profiteering, the

difficulties of Red Cross distribution, and the vast increase of diseases due to malnutrition.

Another factor affecting public health is the shortage of housing. Not only were thousands of buildings destroyed during the Italian and German campaigns and by Allied bombings, but new construction has virtually ceased. Whereas an average of 15,800 buildings per year were erected by public and private agencies during the 1930's, only 450 per year were built between 1941 and 1943. The shortage has been especially acute in Athens, because of the influx of refugees from bombed Piraeus, and in the provincial communication centers.

Both quisling officials and private organizations have taken steps to combat these conditions. The government has appropriated sums for children's camps and hospitals, and provides medical care for the police and other civil servants. The Medical Society has organized in Athens about fifteen Medical Refuges (Iatrika Katafighia) and Popular Committees (Laikes Epitropes) which are attached to the various police stations for free consultation. The Popular Committees, which consist of civic-minded citizens, have set up special Sunday kitchens, since free kitchens serve no food that day. With the aid of money contributions from the rich and food contributions from the Red Cross, these Committees have been able to serve a meat dish to poor children between five and fifteen years of age.

The various relief agencies have made significant efforts to promote food imports and distribution, but their effectiveness has been reduced by internal friction and by German restrictions. The German authorities will not permit the Red Cross to carry on relief activities in areas controlled by the EAM, which means that large sections of the country have been cut off from all outside aid. Furthermore, friction

is reported between the Greek Red Cross and the International Red Cross. Each accuses the other of employing irresponsible persons who are more interested in their own prestige than in the work to be done. The functions of the Greek Red Cross have been largely taken over by the government, and the International Red Cross handles distribution. Within the International Red Cross there is friction between the Swiss and the Swedes. The Swedes are charged with being interested in their own comfort, having padded payrolls, and speculating on the stock exchange; the Swiss with being incompetent and inexperienced and having young, unreliable personnel. The Swedes, and especially their chief, Sandstrom, are said to be pro-German, while the Swiss are said to be pro-British.

There is also friction on personal grounds between the Greek medical profession and the Swiss mission, which is engaged largely in medical work. Finally, the relations between the E.O.Kh.A. (Damaskinos Church Relief Agency) and the Greek Government are decidedly cool. In contrast to the other agencies, the E.O.Kh.A. has operated very efficiently and with a minimum of overhead, but it is feared for political reasons by the quisling government and the Germans. When, for example, the E.O.Kh.A. tried to relieve the victims of the January 1944 Piraeus bombings it was forced by the government to desist. Since then Archbishop Damaskinos has been placed under house arrest by the Germans.

IV. ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE

The administration of occupied Greece continues to be carried out by the Greek civil service and local officials. Eparchs, nomarchs, mayors of large cities, and lower functionaries have been permitted to continue in office on the condition that they affirm their loyalty to the quisling government and present a "Certificate of Healthy Public Opinion." Real power, however, rests in the hands of the German officials who countersign all documents and inspect all communications to and from the Greek administrators. In cases of conflict, German military decrees have precedence over the prevailing Greek law.

The civil courts of occupied Greece have fallen into complete disrepute. Both quisling and German authorities continually interfere with the business of the courts in favor of this or that individual or interest. In addition, the continual enactment of new laws and decrees (4,500 in three years) has in many cases made it impossible for lawyers and judges to determine which particular law is still in force. Finally, the gross underpayment of all personnel and the appointment of incompetent judges have lowered the caliber and morale of the whole service.

The Greek military courts are viewed by the public with even less esteem. Decisions are apparently based in large measure on political considerations, and a prisoner has little chance of a fair trial. Rallis has found great difficulty in persuading officers to serve as judges. The Germans have also set up their own military courts, with a very elastic jurisdiction covering all offences which "directly or indirectly" affect the occupation troops.

V. SECURITY

A. Regulations and Restrictions

A host of regulations and restrictions have been imposed upon the Greek public by the quisling and German authorities in their efforts to exact obedience and maintain order. Every citizen must carry an identity card issued by the Greek police and valid for one year. Radios have not been seized, but listening to enemy or neutral stations is forbidden, although widely practised. Possession of firearms is illegal and severely punished. Travelers are required to obtain special traveling permits issued by the puppet authorities upon German approval. Railway stations, trains, and busses are controlled, and motorcycle police patrol the chief highways.

B. SS and Tsoliades

Since these and other regulations cannot be enforced solely by the pre-war rural gendarmerie and metropolitan police, a number of special security bodies have been established. The most important German organization affecting Greek civilian life is the SS, which has followed a policy of complete ruthlessness, amounting at times to wholesale slaughter, to discourage resistance. In a minor disturbance in Omonoia Square in Athens on 9 December 1943, for example, a German sergeant was accidentally wounded in the hand. The SS arrested ten persons who happened to be present and executed them at once. A communique issued on 12 December spoke of the execution of "ten communists who chanced to be present." At about the same time SS men killed eleven monks in the monastery of Megaspelion and hurled their bodies down a steep rock in the presence of local peasants.

Greek agents of the SS are the Tsoliades, recruited from the Greek criminal classes and dressed as Evzones. These men are paid high wages and generous food rations and can therefore be depended upon to enforce the security regulations

more strictly than the regular Greek police.

C. Security Battalions

In operations against the guerrillas the quisling governments have relied on regular German army units and, more recently, on native Security Battalions. Rallis's consent to form a cabinet was predicated on the condition that he be allowed to raise battalions of Greek troops for the stated object of maintaining order and combatting "communists." The original plan called for the organization of as many as 35 battalions with considerable equipment, including mortars and armored cars. Little progress was made at the outset, however, partly because of German distrust and partly because the Cairo government broadcast a warning early in January 1944 that all who did not leave the Security Battalions by the end of the month would be considered enemies of the Greek people. In recent months, because of the German shortage of manpower the Battalions have been increased in number. Reports on their present strength range from 3000 to 13,000 men. The most recent information refers to a total of sixteen battalions, four in Athens, three in Patras, and one each in Kalamata, Gytheion, Sparta, Tripolis, Corinth, Agrinion, Chalkis, Larissa, and Karditsa. Many of the recruits are desperate men who have joined to escape labor in Germany or to procure food and shelter. Only a small minority appear to be convinced anti-communist volunteers.

The Security Battalions are completely controlled and directed by the Germans. Despite this fact the Greek Government in exile and the British Government have until recently been unwilling directly to denounce and disavow the Battalions. Premier Papandreou, previous to his broadcast of 4 September 1944, had been solicitous for the reputation of the Battalions and had rejected the repeated demands of the EAM-PEEA that his government issue a statement of repudiation. According to a

reliable report (18 August 1944), this policy, especially Papandreou's statement: "We take no responsibility for condemning the Security Battalions," encouraged the collaborationists, who justified themselves on the grounds that they were carrying out the orders of the Papandreou government and the Allies. Papandreou strongly opposes the EAM. In actively supporting the anti-EAM Zervas group (EDES) and passively excusing the anti-EAM Security Battalions it seems probable that he is thinking in terms of the balance of power in post-war Greece.

The attitude of the Greek people to the Battalions appears to vary from region to region and month to month. It is reported that they have received most support and have been most effective in the Peloponnesus. In addition, some sections of the population believe that the Battalions are not outright quisling groups, but include many patriots who will turn against the Germans as soon as "the EAM menace" has been eliminated. It is not likely, however, that this opinion is very widely held. The following report from an informed and impartial observer is probably closer to the true state of affairs, especially now that the German bayonets behind the Battalions are rapidly disappearing.

Informants connected with the Security Battalions until their escape from Greece about 1 April, indicate that whatever prestige the Security Battalions may have had as maintaining right-wing interests against communism has largely been dissipated by the terroristic methods of the Battalions and their known close cooperation with the Gestapo. They have fired indiscriminately on demonstrators in refugee settlements and on protesting railroad employees. They have raided homes of law-abiding citizens, arrested the occupants, carried off persons with the threat of turning them over to the Germans unless bribed, and raped respectable housewives. The populace would not support the Battalions in the event of a German withdrawal.

VI. QUISLING PROPAGANDA LINES

In their propaganda efforts the quislings have followed several lines aimed primarily at dividing and confusing the population. First and foremost they have emphasized the benevolent motives of the Germans in Greece and the advantages to be gained from collaboration with the "new order." In a proclamation issued upon his resignation from the Premiership, Tsolakoglou expressed his "gratitude to the occupation authorities for the prompt and sincere interest which they have always shown." Upon assuming the Premiership Logothetopoulos declared: "We are free to administer our economic matters by ourselves, in order to restore order and salvage what remains....The occupation authorities have assured us that they will give us full support..." Rallis, on 24 March 1943, expressed appreciation for German permission to celebrate the National Holiday properly: "The generous policy of the German Nation honors and respects small countries which are fighting for their happiness." Despite these declarations, very few Greeks have been won over to the German cause, especially after the forced conscription of labor, the heavy occupation charges, and the wholesale looting of the country.

Quisling propaganda has been far from unsuccessful, however, in other respects. It cleverly seizes upon real fears and dangers, and distorts in order to attain the desired goal. The unpopularity of King George II enables the quislings to identify the Cairo Government with the Crown and with the equally unpopular Metaxas dictatorship. The King and his coterie of politicians are pictured as tools of British imperialism, which, it is said, is determined to restore the monarchy to Greece despite the wishes of the population. Such propaganda has apparently had some effect.

Fear of the Slavs and of communism is also common in

Greece, partly as a result of the behavior of Bulgarian occupation forces on Greek soil. The quislings seize upon this to attack the EAM, which they describe as subservient to Bolshevik-Slavic Russia. At first the government radio and newspapers emphasized the horrors of communism and recounted endless tales of communist atrocities. Recently emphasis has shifted to the Slavic aspect of the peril. To the north, it is said, are the Slavic Bulgars and Yugoslavs, and beyond them Russia's millions. The handful of non-Slavic Greeks are in danger of being overrun, especially, so the argument continues, since the British have become, wittingly or unwittingly, tools and dupes of the Soviets. Where, then, can the Greeks look for aid? Only to Germany. "The torch goes from Olympus to Berlin." The Germans alone have appreciated the glories of antiquity and have carried on the ancient Greek traditions, in contrast to the Russians, who represent barbarism.

These twin Slav-communism bogeys have been combined in the form of an alleged agreement between Greek and Bulgarian communists for the creation of a Soviet Balkan Federation, in which Macedonia would constitute a separate republic (to be made up of Macedonian areas surrendered by Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece).

Another feature of quisling political warfare has been the effort to cement an alliance with the Greek Church on grounds of common interest. The Rallis government, for example, has decreed that bishops who are unable to occupy their sees because of unsettled conditions should be paid their salaries plus emoluments of 200,000 drachmas monthly. Similarly, the Gestapo leader, Dr. Los, has proposed to Archbishop Damaskinos that the Church combat the Catholic and Bolshevik danger, and has indicated that in return Germany would support the Oecumenical Patriarch against the Pope. The Church as a whole apparently has not been impressed by

these arguments. Many of the young priests are in the guerrilla ranks; the bishops of Peloponnesus, Kozane, and Pyrgos are actively pro-EAM; and Archbishop Damaskinos himself is on friendly terms with the EAM and therefore at present under house arrest.

The Germans have also sought to take advantage of the irredentist aspirations of the Greek people. Efforts have been made to organize demonstrations of Dodecanesians and Cypriots against the Italians and British, respectively. The Germans have gone so far as to inform the Rallis government officially that the Ionian Islands, which were annexed by Italy in 1941, have been returned to Greece, though German military occupation is to be maintained for the duration of the war.

APPENDIX A

QUISLING CABINETS

German troops entered Athens on 27 April 1941. General Tsolakoglou, who was responsible for the signing of the Armistice, was selected to form a cabinet whose members consisted almost entirely of those general officers who had supported the Armistice. This government, formed on 30 April 1941, consisted of:

PREMIER	General Tsolakoglou
MINISTER OF DEFENSE	General Bakos
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS	General Koutousis
MINISTER OF LABOR	General Roussopoulos
MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY	General Markou
MINISTER OF INTERIOR	General Demestichas
MINISTER OF FINANCE	S. Gotsamanis
MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE	Professor N. Louvaris
MINISTER OF SUPPLIES	Colonel Polyzos
MINISTER OF NATIONAL ECONOMY	P. Hadjimikhalis
MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION	Professor Logothetopoulos
MINISTER OF JUSTICE	S. Livieratos
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE	General Katsomitros
MINISTER OF MERCHANT MARINE	General (or Captain) Jason Papadopoulos
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL THEATER AND UNDERMINISTRY OF PRESS	K. Bastias

In June 1941, General Demestichas left the Ministry of the Interior, which passed to General Bakos. General Kotsomitros resigned the post of Minister of Agriculture, which was taken over by M. Koramenos. He was replaced in November 1941 by S. Gotsamanis, who also took over the post of Minister of Justice from S. Livieratos.

April 1942---Athens:

PREMIER	General Tsolakoglou
VICE-PREMIER, MINISTER OF PRODUCTION, ECONOMY, AGRICULTURE, LABOR, FOOD AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, FINANCE AND SUPPLIES	S. Gotzamanis[1]

1. Another report speaks of Logothetopoulos as Vice-Premier

April 1942-Athens (contd) --

ASSISTANT TO MINISTER OF SUPPLIES	H. Tsironikos
MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR	General Bakos
MINISTER OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION	Professor Logothetopoulos
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND MERCANTILE MARINE	General Moutousis
MINISTER OF JUSTICE	General Markou

By November 1942 Logothetopoulos was Deputy Prime Minister again, and, in November, Tsolakoglou, apparently finding it increasingly difficult to work with the Italians, resigned. In spite of Italian support Gotsamanis missed the Premiership and Logothetopoulos formed the new government, which showed a marked decline in Italian influence.

DECEMBER 1942--Athens:

PREMIER, ALSO MINISTER OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND EDUCATION	Professor Logothetopoulos
MINISTER OF FINANCE	S. Gotzamanis
MINISTER OF NATIONAL ECONOMY (temp.)	S. Gotzamanis
MINISTER OF DEFENCE	General Bakos
MINISTER OF JUSTICE	General Markou
MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND PUBLIC SECURITY	A. Tavoularis
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND MERCHANT MARINE	General Moutousis
MINISTER OF LABOR	N. Kalyvas
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE	H. Tsironikos
MINISTER OF SUPPLY (temp.)	H. Tsironikos
ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO PREMIER	Leonidas Tsirigotis

The Logothetopoulos Government was forced to resign on 7 April 1943 when it became known that the Premier had put his signature to the abortive Civil Mobilization Decree.

All Gotsamanis' efforts to secure German backing were unavailing. The new Prime Minister was John Rallis, and his original government appears to have been as follows:

APRIL 1943--Athens:

PREMIER, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF DEFENCE	John Rallis
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS	Admiral Gerondas
MINISTER OF INTERIOR	A. Tavoularis
MINISTER OF NATIONAL ECONOMY AND LABOR	Colonel Gregorakis
MINISTER OF EDUCATION	N. Louvaris
MINISTER OF JUSTICE	K. Pournaras
MINISTER OF PUBLIC WELFARE	Vasilios Karapanos
SERVICE UNDER-SECRETARY IN THE MINISTRY OF VICTUALLING	G. Peirounakis

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The Rallis Government is still in office. There have been changes, and increasing difficulty in filling vacant posts as the Greeks began to realize that the Germans must lose the war. Gregorakis resigned on 30 June 1943, N.Kalyvas taking over his post in December 1943. Kalyvas was, however, assassinated on 27 January 1944. The latest available reports show that the holders of office are:

MARCH 1944--Athens:

PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE	John Rallis
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE	John Rallis
MINISTER OF SUPPLY	John Rallis
UNDER-SECRETARY OF DEFENCE	General Dialetis
MINISTER OF JUSTICE	K. Pournaras
MINISTER OF EDUCATION	N. Louvaris
MINISTER OF INTERIOR	A. Tavoularis
MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS	Admiral Gerondas

MARCH 1944--Athens (contd):

MINISTER OF FINANCE AND ECONOMY	H. Tsironikos
MINISTER OF NATIONAL WELFARE	V. Karapanos
UNDER-SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURE	G. Pamboukos
UNDER-SECRETARY FOR SUPPLY	G. Peirounakis
MINISTER OF LABOR	E. Kanakousakis